

The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Wer etwas
zu sagen hat,
hat auch
die „Süddeutsche“



Astronauts' feat symbolises our technological century

Man's hearts and minds were moved more by the fate of the first tipwrecked astronaut than was to be expected in the event of a successful lunar landing. They have become true heroes of the age, successfully withstanding an environment hostile to all earthly life.

As the third team of astronauts to set foot on the Moon, Lovell, Haise, and Wiltgen would soon have been forgotten, as it is they stand alongside or even above Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins as figures symbolic of late twentieth-century technology.

The moving moments of their dangerous but successfully concluded seven-day journey fire the imagination. From the adventures of the Argonauts in the distant world to the computerised journey into space of the astronauts, the history of civilisation can tell many a tale of courageous men who risked their lives to reach a far-off and mysterious goal.

Availing themselves of danger and overcoming the weakness and inadequacy of the human body, they finally met with success, but failures as well as successes have kept the wheel of historic development in motion.

Survival involves learning from mistakes and inadequacies. A man who dares to go to the limits of his knowledge and ability must be prepared to call into question the point of his efforts and possibilities.

Has the development that began with the mastering of the Earth's gravitational pull by Yuri Gagarin of Russia on 12 April 1961, only to threaten to end, almost nine years later to the day, in momentous catastrophe been a mistake?

Will Man reaching for the stars fall victim to overweening pride in a power that sees space exploration as a suitable means of dominating others?

There can be no denying that the development of missile and satellite technology owes a great deal to military stimulus. The first rockets that reached Europe from China via India and Arabia were promptly used for military purposes.

The first major missile, launched to previously unparalleled heights from German soil in 1942, was also conceived of as an insuperable weapon. But the men who went "the roundabout way" of weaponry were possessed nonetheless by the millennial dream of mastering the Earth's gravitational pull.

The first lunar landing was the apex of an enormous pyramid containing the sum total of knowledge of the universe gained since the first tentative observations of the Babylonians, Sumerians, Egyptians and Greeks.

Setbacks and relapse into barbarism and ignorance have proved unable to prevent mankind from thinking the desirable and daring the conceivable. Enthusiasm, imagination and a belief in the future are, when all is said and done, characteristic of the picture history paints of Man.

Without these "salient" qualities there would be no progress.

Except for a select band of experts the laborious process of European integration has become not only unathomable for Washington. What is worse, the Common Market is increasingly gaining the reputation of being a community that does nothing but interfere with world trade, particularly with its agricultural policy.

It is continually felt to be erecting new trade barriers — value-added tax, for instance, or preferential agreements with African and Mediterranean countries — both measures designed to undermine Gatt. And now this same EEC is on the point of enpassing new and powerful members.

But the Americans are inquisitive. They let great store by simple formulas and would like, to take one example from among the topics under transatlantic discussion, to know once and for all what lies behind the Common Market's policy towards the Mediterranean region.

There have, of course, been any number of comparable moves by the BEC Council of Ministers and the Brussels Common Market Commission. There are agreements with almost all Mediterranean countries on citrus fruit preferences and tariff reductions but the Americans feel it is all a little improvised, a little coincidental. They would dearly like to know how policy is formulated and what it all means.

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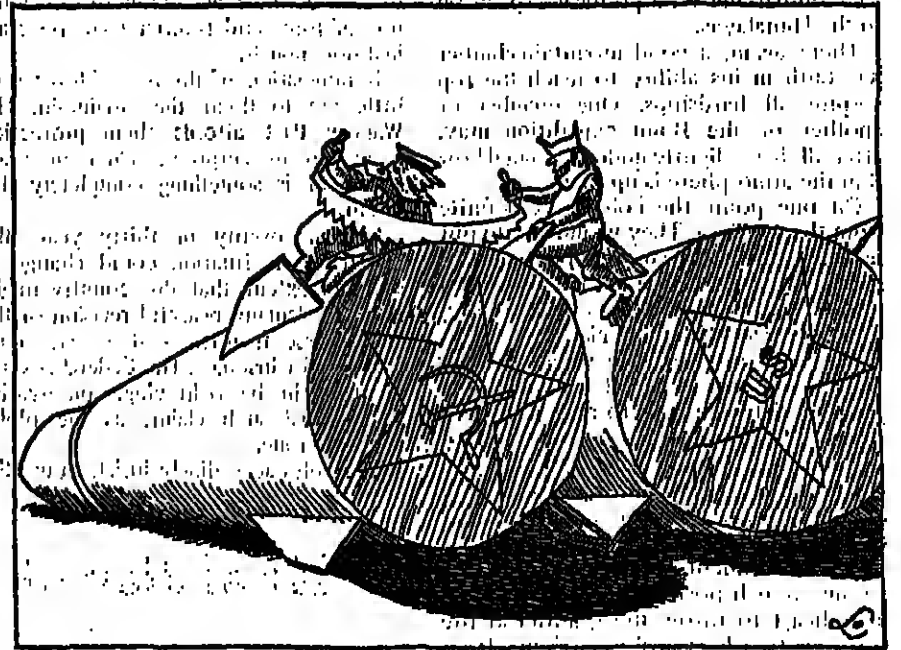
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Arms reduction the Salt way?

(Cartoon by E. Lang, Süddeutsche Zeitung)

Salt talks — peace

by understanding

rather than threats

The Salt talks have been resumed in Vienna. Peace is at stake. The delegations of the two nuclear powers meeting in Belvedere Palace know that armed hostilities between them are improbable at the moment but by virtue of this intimate knowledge they have of the topic both they and their governments are only too aware of how fragile peace is in the nuclear age.

Man is involved in continuous struggle with a technology that is not only a servant but also tending to take control of everything living. The greater the perfection of technology, the greater the danger of accidental war.

Setbacks such as Apollo 13 may show that there are still limits to what is a technological decade but deficits sustained by the human intellect at the hands of matter represent a challenge to try again. This is as much as to say that the deterrent as a strategic goal and the maintenance of the balance of power as a political programme — the attempt to counter the unreason of war with reason — may become dubious formulae backed by hopes rather than reality.

The machinery of destruction can become more powerful than the will to survive. Vistas such as these decided the Americans to talk with the Russians. Together they are seeking definitions of strategic weapons systems. In order to be able to compare them and maybe mutually disarm.

Lurking in the background is the philosophical question as to how peace by threat can be developed into peace by understanding. Experts are overwhelmed by the extent to which technology seems bound to influence the future of mankind.

The situation calls for common sense on both sides. Nixon and Brezhnev both sent encouraging messages; yet there is little call for optimism.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 April 1970)

Washington must be kept in the Common Market picture

Europe has a vital interest in maintaining good relations with the United States. At present, though, relations between America and the European Economic Community (EEC) are strained. The complex process of integration that is going on within the Common Market is a closed book as far as the USA is concerned. "You Europeans," US ambassador to the EEC Schatzel noted in a recent Bonn lecture that was rightly paid great attention, "seem simply to have forgotten to tell us Americans the story of your integration policy." On his recent visit to the United States Chancellor Willy Brandt was able to make good some of this backlog.

The EEC's Commission and the Council of Ministers provide a far too inadequate supply of information. Walter Hallstein, German first president of the Common Market Commission, clearly realised the need but was unable to overcome political resistance to a more liberal information policy.

Despite the establishment of an inter-bar of comparable moves by the BEC Council of Ministers and the Brussels Common Market Commission. There are agreements with almost all Mediterranean countries on citrus fruit preferences and tariff reductions but the Americans feel it is all a little improvised, a little coincidental. They would dearly like to know how policy is formulated and what it all means.

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Continued on page 2

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Oder-Neisse obstacle pivotal to Polish talks

It is growing increasingly evident that the Federal government entered into negotiations with Poland a little too optimistically. Everyone concerned in Bonn was, of course, well aware that they were embarking on a political expedition to the Himalayas.

There again, a good mountain-climber has faith in his ability to reach the top despite all hardships. One member or another of the Bonn expedition may, after all, have slightly underestimated how thin the atmosphere is up there.

On one point the Poles were definite from the word go. They would like to put relations with this country on a normal footing. For them normal means official recognition of Poland's western frontier along the rivers Oder and Neisse.

No one knows exactly whether public opinion in the Federal Republic has progressed far enough to accept the fact that the Oder-Neisse line is, once and for all, the frontier between Germany and Poland. The Federal government is consequently trying to postpone the moment of truth a little longer.

The government is not, in any case, in a strong enough position to be able with a light heart to throw the gauntlet at the entire national opposition. Franz Josef Strauss and his followers provided a foretaste of what to expect at the recent party conference of his Christian Social Union in Munich.

The present administration in Bonn may even have misgivings of principle. It is one thing to know that the German Eastern territories are gone for good, quite another to know that the loss is in writing.

This is why the Bonn negotiators tried to convince the Poles that a guarantee of inviolability of frontiers as part of a mutual renunciation of the use of force should give them the necessary feeling of security, the feeling that the western territories are at long last theirs.

To begin with it did indeed look as though the Poles were prepared to join in the quest for a formula that does the de facto state of affairs in Central Europe justice while at the same time making it easier for the government in Bonn to

weather the storms of domestic opposition.

From the start, though, no one, neither German nor Pole, could say what this magic formula might be. It probably does exist. For the Poles renunciation of the use of force and frontier guarantees are just not enough.

Renunciation of the use of force is of little use to them, they maintain. The Warsaw Pact affords them protection from violent surprises. What they are afraid of is something completely different.

In ten, twenty or thirty years the international situation could change to such an extent that this country might after all demand peaceful revision of the Oder-Neisse frontier — at a peace conference, for instance. The Federal government might be right-wing, conservative and regard such claims as the philosophers' stone.

The Poles accordingly insist, to use the

words of State Council Chairman Marian Spychalski, that "no German government in whatever circumstances be allowed to question the permanent character of Poland's western frontiers."

Were a Polish delegation to a peace conference unable to produce an express waiver of the possibility of revision by both German governments Warsaw would be no better off than it is today.

When all is said and done Polish ears prick up when the present Opposition in this country repeatedly stresses that the possibility must be kept open.

Whichever way it looks at it and no matter how difficult the Federal government may find it to make the final move Bonn will not for much longer be able to put off the realisation that a genuine normalisation of relations between the Federal Republic and Poland is only to be had in return for an unconditional recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier.

Bonn may feel it is inopportune to do so at the present juncture but if this is the case it must also accept the prospects of making further progress in Warsaw are slender, and since all other attempts to make headway in Eastern Europe are closely linked to progress in Warsaw the prospects of successful negotiations in Moscow and East Berlin will be even poorer than they are at present.

Hans-Herbert Götze
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 April 1970)

Escalation of terror in Athens

Dictators are touchy and this is particularly true of the Athens regime. Firmly anchored in NATO and an associate member of the Common Market the junta falls to understand why this country, which occupies a key position in both bodies, is so insistent on the restoration of democracy in Greece.

As the military government sees it, Bonn has every reason to be more "anti-communist" than it itself is. Athens will never appreciate the fact that Bonn is, by virtue of its own past history, in a particularly good position to see through the junta's pretext for the 1967 coup.

Instead, Papadopoulos's men have visions of an anti-Greek conspiracy. Demands for a recall of all Greek workers in this country have been voiced on the ground that they are being alienated from their mother country by the West German trade unions "in cooperation with Greek traitors in exile."

Federal Republic businessmen are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain what are in fact good trade relations between the two countries.

Of late Bonn has on several occasions lodged official protests against goings-on in Greece. This intervention is of little effect since the military government considers all criticism from without as an escalation of terror.

The release of composer Mikis Theodorakis was based on altogether different considerations. It was intended as moral cover for the sentences passed on dozens of public figures in an Athens trial that recently created something of a stir.

Theodorakis, whose family has had to stay in Greece, represents no danger to the junta. His family can now legally be interned by way of reprisal.

Nikos Kostomithlos
(Kleiner Nachschien, 15 April 1970)

Washington and the Common Market

evident since the President's sponsorship of a new Trade Expansion Act in November that Mr. Nixon favours a free trade policy.

Yet no one is prepared to forecast at the moment whether the President will gain from Congress the powers for which he is asking, the power to cut customs duties by up to twenty per cent, for instance. No one, for that matter, is placing bets on whether or not Congress will actually abolish the American Selling Price System, an annoying tariff system if ever there was one.

Europe has a vital interest in maintaining good relations with the United States. This does not exclude the possibility of a clear and independent European view; indeed, it presupposes one.

An attempt to develop the existing EEC into an economic and currency union would without doubt be welcomed by the Americans if only it were properly packaged as an up-to-the-minute policy of European integration.

The Americans must be told why even if it succeeds it will take at least ten years to evolve an economic union — and the explanation must continually be repeated.

The President and the Chancellor must view US relations with the EEC and trade policy controversies as part of the sum total of Atlantic relations. This total includes the American military presence in Europe, NATO and NATO finances.

Certainly in the opinion of Moscow and Marxists the European Common Market is a highly political matter. Yet the Communists are not alone in dealing with economic matters as though they were of supreme political importance.

What if the East demands a slow-down of integration moves in the West as a counter-concession for some move of its own?

The United States must be given to understand in no uncertain terms that a determined policy of integration in the West remains the sine qua non of any discussion with the East, that the Bonn Federal government continues to take integration seriously and that a sensible framework for inevitable conflicts of interest between the EEC and the United States must be drawn up.

Hans-Herbert Götze
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 April 1970)

Behind the scenes changes in the Kremlin

Several of the allegedly or sick senior officials in Moscow made public appearances since announcements that they were likely to be no end to the symphony chongover in the Soviet capital.

The techniques of power struggle to have changed. The losers are the Christian Democrat Education Minister, shot, as they were in Stalin's day, are not declared to be enemies, as in Khrushchev's day, the Federal Republic.

They simply fall "ill" — and the fact that he projects an image of Kremlin leaders are all old being not a typical German but a Bavarian suspicion not to arise when he is a major factor in the decision to hold the state to have contracted some 1972 Olympic Games in the Federal other this would seem to be a Republic.

Changes at the very top of the Olympic Games of 1972 have in recent course, to be expected at the years been spoken of in the same breath. The centenary of Lenin's birth — Vogel has advertised Munich to the a poor background for open world. The impression he has given of it struggles. Behind the scenes has been outstanding.

Three of the most important people in the Federal Republic but 'fly-moment heads of the CSU coming for Munich. The fact that the Federal mitee's propaganda machine in Republic is doing very nicely has a result supplemented. Propaganda chief of this is simply an advantageous side to take over the embassy in effect.

Deputy chief Dmitriyuk has hardly criticised work published the 25th anniversary of victory Hitler. In his view it was neither enough nor sufficiently in tone. Criticism of Stalin or the comings of Soviet defence in no longer permitted.

The indications are that First Secretary Brozhnev stands to benefit. Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz' successor as State Secretary to the Foreign Office, Paul Frank, is not a discovery of new would like to gain control of the present Foreign Minister, Walter Soviet economic crisis to extend his power.

First Secretary Sokolov of the lighted by Schell's predecessors: Gerprty region, an agricultural ward Schröder and Willy Brandt. For a binned to the backwoods by Khrushchev time this former head of Political has been appointed deputy planning Department I at the Foreign Ministry; now and First Secretary Yofronov of State 52; has been reckoned to be one First Deputy Chairman of the state of the most capable men in this country's mittos for Science and Technology, diplomatic service.

Brozhnev is in no way his successor. He was the personal adviser to Amintoreo Hausenstein in France. During before the XXIV Congress of the Communist Party, which is due to take place at the end of this year. The wider public when he negotiated for the look at the moment the general release of the South Korean kidnapped developments is towards new state of the Federal Republic.

In the summer a second State Secretary, Günther Harkort, will join Duckwitz in retirement.

He will probably be replaced by Baron Reinhold von Braun, who is currently representing the Federal Republic in France, and was favourite until recently to succeed Duckwitz.

The fact that von Braun, the 59-year-old brother of the famous space scientist, did not replace Duckwitz and that he will not be a deal predominantly with matters of trade and development aid is the biggest surprise in this shake-up at top level in the Foreign Ministry.

Re-organisation of the Foreign Office means that EEC questions may also come under von Braun's jurisdiction.

This re-organisation also means that the changeover will not come to the spring as originally planned, but a few months later, so that both Frank and von Braun have time to prepare themselves for their new responsibilities.

In contrast the present ambassador in Paris Paul Frank is not considered a career diplomat so much as a political intellectual with administrative ex-

perience and a reputation for being a competent diplomat. His appointment as ambassador to the highest post in the Federal Republic diplomacy is considered by many to be in several aspects similar to the advisers on foreign policy who surrounded John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon.

(CHRIST UND WELT, 17 April 1970)

HOME AFFAIRS

SPD straitjacket Munich's popular mayor

Hans Jochen Vogel, Mayor of Munich and the Social Democrat brother of the Christian Democrat Education Minister of the Rhineland-Palatinate Bernhard Vogel, is the most popular mayor in the Party, as in Khrushchev's day, the Federal Republic.

It is not that his downfall must be predicted when the new mayor of Munich is elected in spring 1972. If Vogel, now 43, puts up for election again he will be re-elected with an overwhelming majority. Even CSU party officials in Munich are convinced of this.

But this successful mayor will not put up for re-election in Munich a few weeks before the Games are opened. He cannot, must not and will not.

The Bavarian SPD committee has decided that Vogel's political career will take a different course from 1972. The Mayor of Munich, it decreed, must devote himself to Bavarian Regional Assembly politics. In 1972 he shall leave the Munich Town Hall, in 1973 he will be elected Bavarian SPD Provincial Assembly chairman and in 1974 he will become Prime Minister of a Bavaria reconquered by the SPD.

This has been thought out to its logical conclusion by the Bavarian Social Democrats, for if the SPD is to chalk up successes between the Isar and the Main it will only be possible by making their best man their leading contender. With the Olympic Games as the background, however, such a decision is simply the expression of political parochialism.

Munich's Mayor had not even voiced his own decision when the Social Democrat programme planners started building up his successor.

When the only thinkable candidate for successor, the popular chief of Munich police Manfred Schreiber, declined outright the SPD left flank came up with Bundestag member Manfred Schmidt.

34-year-old Schmidt conquered the constituency of Christian Socialist member Prince Konstantin of Bavaria who was killed in a flying accident shortly before the 1969 general elections.

The decision of Munich's left-wing, like the decision of the Provincial Assembly committee of the SPD in Bavaria was in striking contrast to the opinions held by the population of Munich.

Later public opinion polls have shown this clearly. The citizens of Munich want to see Hans Jochen Vogel as Mayor.

The decision whether to accept this invitation or not will be made at the next DGB conference at the beginning of May. It is probable that it will not be accepted. A unanimous decision was reached by the DGB committees in recent weeks that it was unreasonable to have the path to talks that both sides want, dictated to by the GDR.

In the DGB's opinion talks should be held at the headquarters of each trade union federation, that is to say Düsseldorf and East Berlin.

Haltz Oskar Vetter's proposed journey to East Berlin came up against the same difficulties as Willy Brandt's trip to Erfurt last month.

The GDR is just as unwilling to let Vetter, the DGB Chairman, travel via West Berlin as it was let the Federal Chancellor do so. Willy Brandt and GDR



Hans Jochen Vogel

(Phototype) to keep Hans Jochen Vogel as their Mayor. Those who are particularly in favour of him want to keep him because they like him and those who oppose him for party-political reasons want to keep him since they do not want to see the Mayor responsible for organising the Olympics slip away from the line of his if there should be any dire consequences from Munich's Olympic adventure.

Perhaps the citizens of Munich also fear that this mid-left Mayor could be followed by someone from the extreme left of the party, someone who in these circumstances would not reject from the start like Vogel every temptation and every attempt to alter the laws pertaining to the Mayor's term of office and postpone the mayoral elections in Munich until after the Olympics.

The Oberbürgermeister in Munich, like his counterparts in New York, Paris, London, Tokyo and a dozen world cities, is a particular political figure with a more clearcut role than many a governor and many a prime minister.

In the case of Munich's present mayor it is hard to avoid the impression that he is a 'bird' who is being imprisoned in the party cage before he can determine his own flight path.

This impression is only increased by the alacrity with which his successor has been made.

Has Hans Jochen Vogel had any time free to think about his future career or was it determined in advance by the party administration? What would happen if he weighed up popular opinion against his party's interests and decided to stay? Could he be permitted to stand again? Can he still do so?

Josef Othmar Zöllner
(CHRIST UND WELT, 17 April 1970)

Where should trade unions meet?

Prime Minister Willy Stoph had to make a compromise and go to Erfurt. So why is the DGB taking a harder line than the central government did?

It can put forth good reasons for so doing. Whereas the Bonn government has to pay heed to the political situation in Berlin inasmuch as the Western part of the city has close ties with the Federal Republic, but in domestic and international law stands in a special context with regard to the Federal Republic, the DGB can regard the situation differently.

West Berlin branch office is one component part of the whole organisation and completely at par with the other departments in other Federal states.

Up until now this has not been denied by the DGB and it even went so far in 1966 as to send a delegation to West

Immunity privileges waived by MPs in the Rhineland

Rhineland-Palatinate's one hundred Provincial Assembly members are in the process of divesting themselves of a historic parliamentary right — they no longer want to be immune.

Needless to say the right they are giving up has nothing to do with their bodily resistance to the ravages of viruses and bacteria.

Immunity in this case means the general right of members of parliament to be exempt from pursuit by enforcers of the law for any punishable offence, the only exception being if the pursuers should catch them red-handed or succeed in accumulating enough evidence to make a charge within twenty-four hours.

There was originally a good purpose behind this law of immunity, a privilege dating back to the nineteenth century.

It was designed to protect representatives of the public from frivolous charges and persecution in the days of a constitutional monarchy that basically mistrusted the constitution.

Such a concept is anachronistic today. In the parliamentary practice of the Federal Republic it has never had a role to play. The law of immunity came into conflict from the start with theory of equality contained in Basic Law and this was particularly so with regard to the crime of which members of parliaments are most commonly guilty — traffic offences.

Why should a member of a parliament be able to drink himself silly then climb behind the wheel of a car with impunity while a long-distance lorry driver who did the same would lose his livelihood?

There are two points which the law of immunity continues to have a sense and is emphasised in some cases by the basic idea of equality: the member of a parliament enjoys protection from prosecution for libellous statements made in the House. Basic Law excepts this only scurrilous slander. Such protection within the parliament building plays an important part towards freedom of speech.

The second point is that when there are only small majorities if a charge can be brought against one or just a few members of that parliament it can have a great overall effect on public opinion.

No voter, whatever party he supports, is likely to cast his vote in favour of a candidate who has to defend himself in court. (DEUTSCHES ALLEMEINER SONNTAGSBLATT, 12 April 1970)

For the DGB Federal Congress in order to open up contacts with its Federal Republic counterpart.

The DGB is of the opinion that respect of integrity is required if the talks on an equal footing for which the FDGB has stated it is prepared are to materialise.

The DGB is not prepared to discriminate against its department in West Berlin. It does not regard itself as a political organisation, and as the same cannot be said of the FDGB this country's trades union federation is not prepared to let itself be outdone politically speaking.

It is for this reason that the DGB has refused to accept the first named compromise meeting place, Böttchenhof on the Baltic. It is for this reason that it is unlikely to accept the new offer of a trip to Magdeburg.

If no unanimous decision can be reached about holding talks in East Berlin, the DGB has suggested the ball should be set rolling with a conference in Düsseldorf. So far the FDGB has shown no signs of being prepared to accept this offer.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 14 April 1970)

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Road to Kassel strewn with obstacles

CONVERGENCY THEORY OFFERS A THREAT TO EAST BLOC

As the second meeting between Willy Brandt and Willi Stoph looms into the foreground the Socialist Unity Party (SED) is methodically intensifying its almost hysterical agitation against Bonn.

With barely concealed ardour the party is attacking the "sickening" demands for humanitarian concessions as if they had something to do with the war preparations of an imperialist system and the "infiltration" of spies, saboteurs and others.

Looking at the issue from the point of view of the SED's raison d'être the campaign is not as illogical as it could appear in view of the Kassel talks. Certain fringe events at the Brühl meeting have further strengthened East Berlin's fear of outside contacts.

This is not to say that the government of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) has aimed from the very beginning for a breakdown of the Kassel talks. For the SED too there are certain political compulsions that it cannot escape at a snap of its fingers. The party is all the more eagerly at work setting up obstacles on the path to understanding so that it can apply the brakes as it wants.

In this situation there is a certain wry charm in the fact that the SED calls upon former Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, as a welcome witness for the defence claiming that all his actions had proceeded from the acceptance that Berlin too belonged to the Soviet occupation zone.

But the SED's overtones are far from so subtle and make serious contact with the GDR government is given no quarter by *Neues Deutschland* (the SED newspaper). The newspaper claims that the Brandt government is trying to achieve the full scope of "West German imperialism" by subtly camouflaging its demands. Just like Stresemann, the paper adds, Brandt wants to attain ascendancy over Europe.

To us the comparison with a Nobel Peace Prize winner is not at all injurious. Stresemann was after all the statesman who concluded the Berlin Treaty with Russia parallel to the Locarno Treaties, paying the way as many believe, for a continuation of Rapallo policies. He attracted the trust and confidence of people abroad as no other German statesman had done since 1890. This is obviously sufficient reason for the SED to label both him and Brandt as negative figures in history.

East Berlin has always feared free competition between social systems. This fear was strengthened by the events of the Prague Spring that has entered the annals of history as the curtain raiser to a tragedy.

Since Chancellor Brandt has tried to break the Berlin Wall with relatively minor loss of East German soldiers and citizens, the SED is naturally alarmed.

Wells calls for fully valid treaty

What would be done without the "philosophical services" of the SED? In the past it has been the only party to bring about all possible settlements and a "fully valid" treaty between the two disparately governed States. Herbert Wehner, Chairman of the Bundestag (Social Democratic) said at the Prandorian Party Congress in Nuremberg that the relationship between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic is "a task for the future of mankind" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 April 1970).



recognised caution and with a remarkable show of confidence from the Western powers, especially the United States, East Berlin's dilemma has increased still further. The SED cannot on the one hand reject this function and on the other hand, it is tormented by a lasting fear of the psychological and political consequences of a policy of frankness.

It is therefore no coincidence that the SED leadership saw itself forced in recent weeks to attack a seemingly abstract and academic theory that has achieved a near magical effect in both East and West under the name of the theory of convergency.

This theory is based on the assumption that the material compulsion of world-wide industrialisation will gradually lead to rapprochement between capitalist and socialist systems. The advocates of this theory claim that increasing consumer spending, the increasing power of technocrats and managers and the increasing de-ideologisation of the independent masses must lead to an increasingly more unified industrial society in East and West.

In his report on the state of the nation Chancellor Brandt proved himself to be no supporter of this theory of convergency. In his view it is right and wrong at the same time. Wrong because the two States in Germany will not necessarily develop towards each other; right, because the necessity of a modern industrial society in East and West will demand that they do.

The campaign is in full flight as production and sales, milking and feeding, planting and sowing and especially planning and administration, are carried out in the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Lenin is omnipresent in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Alfred Wehler, a third-rate poet, made a confession to the party organ *Neues Deutschland*: "I owe Lenin like all embracing feeling of security, confidence and concern. I owe him the feeling of happiness at success and discontent at every defeat. I owe him identity with the Party." With pathos the man of letters celebrated the Marxist-Leninist ideology that bestows upon him "the sublime feeling of liberty."

In practice the name of Lenin is linked at present in the GDR not with sublime feelings of liberty but with concrete political campaigns that could be traced with other data and slogans to the SED.

For "so" Schütz, whose definition of the "same" general war as those of Wehner, comes nearer to the real situation in a three-line poem entitled *Answers of a Contemporary*.

Now we have to function like a dog, making use of Lenin's arguments in taking the hundredth anniversary of his birth as an occasion for criticism and self-criticism in the yardsticks of the Republic and organising competitions all over the country in his name. But not a Act and literature do not remain untouched by this development. The great assessment within the sphere of culture policy provokes self-confessions and in-

reforms that do not depend on existing political and social conditions.

Even this concession of Brandt's towards the convergency theory need not prove a headache to SED leaders. Standardisation of certain forms of industrial management does not affect any changes in contrary political systems. And even if the standard of living of dependents in East and West were to approach each other more and more, this says nothing about the political reality in a centrally controlled one party system and in a pluralistic social order.

A "convergency" of rapprochement of industrial societies would have little to do with the question whether peaceful co-existence is possible or not in the sense of free competition between the systems. We can already speak of such co-existence between the Federal Republic and Rumania with more justification than between Moscow and Peking, not to mention relations between Moscow and Prague. What then is the reason for the "agitated passion" with which Walter Ulbricht follows Leonid Brezhnev in his campaign against the theory of convergency?

For over twenty years SED politicians have taken the greatest of trouble to attribute all the blame for East-West tensions to advocates of Cold War in the West. Now that Bonn and the Western powers have agreed for the first time to embark on a serious and widespread attempt to alliment the Cold War, East Berlin needs a "new bogey" - rapprochement as a subtle, form-undermining ideology.

In Erich Honecker's view the theory of convergency is used by aggressive circles only to justify the policy of bridge-building with Socialist countries as part of an imperialist, global strategy and its

aim to achieve world domination.

Lenin lives in the GDR

At a meeting of the Association of Creative Artists of the Administrative District of Halle, there was a demand to do more for monumental art which lacked not only intellectual pre-conditions but also large enough studios.

In a speech at Dresden, Culture Minister Klaus Gysi indicated many of the points on the uneven path to a socialist national culture. He also knew the roots of the "bourgeois" and "petty bourgeois" widespread vanity and the long suffering after original effects. Certain fashions, he said, were imitated surprisingly quickly and eagerly.

Alexander Abusch recently dealt with these ideological barriers in East Berlin's Congress Hall. Abusch's statements have the character of a programme and firmly reject attempts to split Leninism from Marxism and have their climax in the ideological maxim: "Leninism alone is the living, creative Marxism of the twentieth century. It is the only valid basis for the development of the German Democratic Republic."

Abusch's speech is a defence, a definition and ultimatum at the same time. The main target is Marxist research in the West. Robert Rager Garandy has become a Marxist-Leninist even though his book *Marxism in the Twentieth Century* is

version in the Federal Republic Eastern policy.

Agitation and hocus-pocus of will reverse the formula "Change reproachment" into a dogmatic ideological war. This passionate against the forging of links is explained by the system's domestic

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They only show how eager of Christian Democrat (CDU) guests, the struggle for understanding his own CDU ranks have become more come in 1970.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 April 1970)

Ban on Western visitors to Erfurt

Erfurt has now been named as a "hot spot" for Western visitors from the Federal Republic. Townsfolk are told that this country must bear in mind relatives to this country that there was no discussion in Munich.

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Christian Democrats cast concerned glances at Munich

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cret - two parties that the CDU hope to keep out of the provincial assembly - the state party congress in Munich was characterised by protest against the Federal government's Eastern policy.

Even if this was only a trick in Bavaria, an attempt to unite opposing groups within the party and, in view of the special needs of the situation in Bavaria, a practical way to drum up voters, a practical way to drum up voters, a practical way to drum up voters.

With the tones of Munich still ringing in their ears the CDU cannot and will not allow themselves to be reduced to the status of mere CDU friendship circles that have been set up throughout the country.

Many people may find it tempting to embark with real fighting spirit on a campaign against Eastern policy, thus avoiding difficulties in respect of economic and social welfare policy. But nothing can detract from the opinion that agreement is necessary and no excuse can be tolerated that will not pursue this with all urgency and energy.

Even though no certain forecasts can be made it seems likely that the next Federal elections will be fought on domestic policy. Looking at the sections of the population who turned their backs on the CDU at the last election and must be won back, the next as there is no replacement for them, the CDU must consider the method practised in Munich as dangerous.

That is why the CDU does not particularly find joy in the Bavarian factor, as much as the CSU may exult over it. Its effects spread way beyond the borders of Bavaria as Rainer Barzel's appearance in Munich showed.

Strauss is also a powerful king-maker among the electoral princes. The CDU will have to decide whether it is to follow the Munich course conveniently and indecisively or whether it keeps its eyes open to the dangers involved and pays due attention to its own needs.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 April 1970)

Primo Dechamps

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 April 1970)

Wanted - a social welfare policy

With Willy Brandt placing great importance on being considered a Chancellor of domestic reform it would have been appropriate for the Christian Social Union (CSU) to analyse the government's claim at its party congress.

Social policy, particularly would have been a sphere where the Christian Social Union could have maintained its own individual position; contrasting with that of the Federal government and also that of its allies, the Christian Democrats (CDU). This course could have shown people that the difference between the CDU and CSU does not only contain political advantages in the post-war welfare of personnel policy. It would have been an opportunity of showing that the world social in their title has real meaning.

The party congress was so condemned with attacks on the government's Getfand-

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CSU Party leader Franz Josef Strauss

Christian Socialists prepare for provincial assembly elections

The Christian Social Union Congress in Munich stood under the star of new elections and the growth of a two-party provincial assembly in Bavaria, where elections are taking place in the autumn.

Franz Josef Strauss was confined as party leader by an overwhelming majority and without an opposing candidate. Of the five hundred valid votes 477 were for his continuance in office.

Replying to current rumours that his controlling position was not as secure as it once was, Strauss said that he was standing in nobody's way in the CSU but as far as the time of his resignation was concerned, "the Lord God would have to say his all-powerful word."

Lively applause greeted Strauss when he delivered an apology for Education Minister Ludwig Huber who had decided not to stand for the post of deputy chairman because of opposition within the party.

Strauss said that it would be as wrong to consider him an opponent of Huber,

the congress took place on the Theresienwiese, the site for fairs and exhibitions, under the motto "Germany needs Bavaria". But there was hardly any discussion. When things did get lively in the working groups this could always be traced to regional or local problems and clashes such as nature conservation or the poor education situation and never to questions on the party's basic principles.

In his speech on the second day of the congress, Bavarian Prime Minister Dr. Alfons Goppel repeated attacks against government policy first voiced by Strauss, Rainer Barzel and Kurt Georg Kiesinger on the first day.

Referring to the National Democrats who are at present represented in the provincial assembly and the Free Democrats who would like to move in again, Goppel said: "Citizens now have the opportunity of electing a two-party parliament, thus forming a clear majority and giving a clear mandate to form a government. The prospects of attaining an exemplary democratic system in Bavaria in the future too, are favourable."

Goppel was self-assured when speaking of the election results: "Voters will see through the combination of internal confusion and tactics in the Bavarian Social Democratic Party. It must be made clear to voters that every vote for the SPD will be a vote for an extreme socialist Bavaria."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 April 1970)



facing him with a mere mask of Christian friendship, as it would be to claim that the solution made was intended to show how far the party is opposed to the Education Minister.

In recent months Huber had been attacked for his education policy, that sparked off demonstrations amongst the young and had been accused of collecting posts in the Party Office, the Ministerial Office and on the party executive.

Franz Haub, Bavarian Minister for Federal Affairs, was elected as deputy chairman instead of Huber along with Minister Dollinger and "Matilde" Banghof Weichner who were confirmed in their offices.

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(Handelsblatt, 6 April 1970)

REVIEW

Deutsche Bank celebrates its 100th anniversary

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Two directors who had no experience of banking, a clerk whose duty it was to reject with thanks dozens of letters daily offering business, and a cashier, meeting in a gloomy upper storey of a house that seemed on the point of collapse not far from Unter den Linden — these were the beginnings of the new Deutsche Bank in Berlin in 1870.

One of the two directors, a German-American specialist in American bonds named Platenus and coming from Stuttgart soon pulled out.

The other was a 31-year-old lawyer named Georg Siemens who stayed with the new banking institute for thirty years and made his mark on it like no other.

His cousin Werner, the father of electronics, represented Georg Siemens in London and Tehran when he founded the Indo-European telegraph company and this experience abroad gained him an introduction to a circle of bankers and industrialists from all parts of Germany, who were keen on the idea of a new institute to make German foreign trade more independent of British and French financiers.

Georg Siemens knew very little of the banking business as such: "I am acting very learned and at home I secretly peep at a lexicon of banking terms," he wrote at his time to his fiancée.

Siemens' "apprenticeship" was taken care of by his fellow member of the board of directors, Hermann Wallich, who took Platenus' place.

Wallich, then 38, had gained great experience of banking matters particularly the international exchange market during his years in Paris, Reunion and Shanghai.

It is claimed that the experienced Wallich often countered the visionary monster stirring inside his talented disciple in the early years, saying, "No fancy ideas!"

The two top men in the Deutsche Bank were joined by a third in 1873. He was Max Steinthal, a 23-year-old expert on the stock-market and international exchange, later a specialist in industry and property and among other things a founder of the *Kurfürstendamm-Gesellschaft*.

Within ten years this triumvirate made the Deutsche Bank the greatest in the German Reich, although at first it was only the greatest in its volume of business and not in its reputation and rank.

With this leadership the Deutsche Bank quickly outgrew its board of directors, and its founders. In the course of a few decades the daughter company swallowed up its mother and its rivals in mergers.

The major one of these was the Disconto-Gesellschaft, which it took over in 1929, a company that had been founded in 1850 and was thus twenty years older than the Deutsche Bank.

Now that the Deutsche Bank is one hundred years old it has more than 400 ancestors in its family tree! But its development has not been all plain sailing and the first few years took some surviving. More than a piece of luck is involved in their survival.

Since this new banking institute was designed to operate on an international basis and its shares were made available over a wide area, it bore its proud name with a certain degree of justification.

But at the outset there was a certain conflict in the company's imposing capital resources — designed to raise its standing in other countries, no doubt —

and the Deutsche Bank's actual volume of trade. This gave its competitors several opportunities to make sarcastic remarks. Whereas in the newly formed German Reich the thousands of millions of Marks worth of damage caused by the war with France gave rise to a wave of speculative ventures. The Deutsche Bank, unmoved by all this, concentrated on international business deals.

Important banking centres arose in Bremen, Hamburg, Shanghai, Yokohama, London and South America.

The experience of Wallich was of assistance when the German Reich like other countries went over to the gold standard and silver for coins sold to India and China. The Deutsche Bank sold 180 million Marks worth of silver to these countries before the Reichsbank that had been founded in the meantime claimed this business. The Reichsbank soon realised that it lacked the necessary means to play this trade but could not bear the shame of handing it back to the Deutsche Bank and entrusted it instead to a British banking institution.

In the meantime the top men at the Deutsche Bank realised that their reputation abroad not only required substantial financial means but also a domestic trading base especially since international trade was not so brisk as expected because of currency policy factors and the East Asian branches had had to be closed with losses on account of a slump in silver.

At the same time Germany was going through a crash and many banks went into liquidation. In order to employ capital of 15 million taler (45 million Marks) profitably two Berlin banking organisations with an impressive list of clients that had been founded in 1871 were taken over. But bankers at the Deutsche Bank were not to rest on their laurels but strode purposefully along new paths.

In these days the Deutsche Bank was just as uninterested in direct foreign trade financing in grand style as it was in another sector already developed to a high degree in Britain, that is to say credit banks, which Georg Siemens had learned to appreciate as a bank client in London.

At first however in the 1870s Georg Siemens considered participation in issuing bank securities the acme of banking. He strove for acceptance into the "Prussian Consortium", led by the Preussische Staatsbank in which Disconto-Gesellschaft called the tune.

The same international logic which made the bank turn its attention from overseas to domestic trading led it later to embark on financing industrial concerns and taking a share in founding them.

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Deutsche Bank's offices in Berlin at the turn of this century (Photo: DEUTSCHE)

As a bank manager he now brought this development to Berlin. Up until this time in Germany long-term cash deposits which were not converted immediately into mortgage loans or shares went to savings bank deposit account and only short-term liquid cash remained completely unproductive.

Current accounts and giro accounts and the system where a company transferred its money matters into the hands of a bank were as good as unknown in Germany apart from in Hamburg and a few other places.

Today the Deutsche Bank has more than 1,000 branches in the Federal Republic. When it opened its first sub-branch in Burgstrasse, Berlin, there began a new era in which there were close ties between the capital power of share issuing banks and the credit and deposit requirements of medium-sized and small business concerns and ultimately private households.

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Spectacular capital reserves

A reasonable rate was only offered to the Deutsche Bank after it had competed with the Prussian Consortium and made an independent offer to place a loan for the Prussian state of.

Shortly before the turn of the century its capital available for loans was at a spectacular level when the Prussian Consortium with a view to the state of the capital market refused to issue Prussian and Reich contracts for 200 million Marks loans from the Deutsche Bank and allied banks financed by their great profits from business in the industrial areas of the Rhineland and Silesia alone were accepted. Since some other "Prussian" members joined in belatedly, a twenty-fold over-subscription came about.

With similar bravura this banking institute led by Hermann J. Abs guided this country's capital market into international business in 1959. The Deutsche Bank had a quota of 19 per cent in the first World Bank loan over 200 million Marks.

In 1914 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* claimed that the Deutsche Bank was "the greatest in the world". That the Deutsche Bank could attract such praise upon itself was due less to its volume of trading expressed in Marks and Pfennigs than to its world-wide enterprising activities.

An economic scope that is so far-reaching and has such great influence could not in those days and cannot in 1970 as the Deutsche Bank celebrates its 100th anniversary attract a purely friendly response.

In its competitors and rivals the Deutsche Bank has quite naturally many opponents, but its enterprising achievements which it can record since its infancy mean that even its opponents have to treat the bank with respect.

As early as 1888 the bank launched directly into the international railway business and thus entered the realm of international power politics.

First it turned to the Balkans, Siemens had a difference of opinion with the Bulgarian government, but he was able to threaten a boycott at the important issuing centres in Berlin.

Then the Bank turned to Turkey. The Deutsche Bank financed the Anatolian railway and the Constantinople and the Balkan Republic. And numerous preferential export agreements were made on matters such as agricultural produce that would not otherwise be possible according to the Middle East and no less a treaty and partly the General Agreement Bismarck wrote to the Bank on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) too.

Before this had been possible to imprudence with regard to foreign trade for railway construction in the Middle East and no less a treaty and partly the General Agreement Bismarck wrote to the Bank on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) too.

There were other risks. The danger of the division of Germany... trade said: "The dangers that such a division would mean for the two parts of Germany will not be regarded as foreign trade with another exclusively to the industrialists of the country."

After the first World War international law would then disappear and it might have been expunged.

This was set up with the aid of German and industrial firms from construct and operate power ships in South America and in the Caribbean Sea. The bank had 120 million Marks in paid-up capital.

It was only in 1880 that the Deutsche Bank took a larger part in the industrial foundations and then the Mannesmann patents for the manufacture of seamless pipes. The birth pangs of its teething troubles and heavy losses and taking the seemingly endless legal proceedings of inventors lasted a whole decade.

On the electronic side the Deutsche Bank had closer ties at first with that was desperately in need of realisation than with the family of Siemens & Halske. However, when the firm was obviated to a joint company and the Deutsche Bank set up a consortium found itself to serve two masters it came out in favour of the family company, the same one on whose board the senior member of Deutsche Bank's board had served for years before.

In conjunction with Siemens the Deutsche Bank built Berlin's S-Bahn (underground railway system). In later years major transactions were completed under the aegis of North Rhine-Westphalia.

But the Deutsche Bank which today has 98,000 shareholders and more than 30,000 employees is still true to its original purpose: it finances about thirty per cent of this country's foreign trade and is once again represented all over the world with interests in about three dozen trading and development banks in thirty countries.

At home its latest company report claims an interest in 26 banking and 20 industrial concerns. Over 150 advisory board decisions on which the chiefs of this famous banking institute are united and the hundreds of leading names in all branches of industry who are advisers to the Deutsche Bank signify its continuing close connection with this country's economy.

Helge Jan Schmiede (STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 4 April 1970)

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THE ECONOMY

Recognition of the GDR might end its privileged trading position

Prime Minister Willi Stoph of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) made heavy demands of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt when they met in Erfurt last month.

It is scarcely likely to be very different at the return meeting in Kassel. Stoph's government talks incessantly of "facing up to the facts".

But the East Berlin government itself seems to be overlooking one important fact. It is the fact that if this country agrees to recognise the GDR in international law inter-German trade in its previous form cannot be preserved.

Up until now when the two parts of Germany have done business with each other it has been on the basis of regarding each other not as foreign countries, but in consideration of the fact that a "special relationship" exists between them.

For this reason there are no customs sections of the Baghdad railway posts between the GDR and Federal Constantinople and the Balkan Republic. And numerous preferential export agreements are made on matters such as agricultural produce that would not otherwise be possible according to the Middle East and no less a treaty and partly the General Agreement Bismarck wrote to the Bank on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) too.

On this score a special clause was introduced into the Treaty of Rome in which it was expressly stated: "With regard to the current conditions arising from the division of Germany... trade within the two parts of Germany will not be regarded as foreign trade with another country."

If the present situation, "the special relationship" were to be replaced by "recognition of the GDR within international law then the basis of this special clause would disappear and it might have been expunged.

Even when the discussions prior to the signing of the EEC treaty were being held in Persia and the Balkans in the face of competition from abroad, there was difficulty to bring a special status to German East African railway, the near on inter-German trade, since other ventures in South Africa and member States obviously realised that banking strongholds in many countries this ruling would mean the inclusion of also the German Overseas Bank.

Company, which Carl Fürstberg began benefits without having to lift a "the greatest German industrial engineer in return, and without sharing any of the responsibilities.

So it seems very likely that if the Federal Republic does agree to recognise the GDR in international law loud voices will be raised from within the EEC calling for this special clause to be suspended.

Already Dutch member of parliament Vredeling is rooting around eagerly at the foundations of this matter.

In fact the financial benefits that the GDR enjoys from being a fringe member of the EEC have grown considerably.

But the Deutsche Bank which today has 98,000 shareholders and more than 30,000 employees is still true to its original purpose: it finances about thirty per cent of this country's foreign trade and is once again represented all over the world with interests in about three dozen trading and development banks in thirty countries.

At home its latest company report claims an interest in 26 banking and 20 industrial concerns. Over 150 advisory board decisions on which the chiefs of this famous banking institute are united and the hundreds of leading names in all branches of industry who are advisers to the Deutsche Bank signify its continuing close connection with this country's economy.

Helge Jan Schmiede (STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 4 April 1970)

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Professor Merkel estimates that East Berlin alone has raked in about 500 million Marks through this back door in the past year.

A particularly great increase in income for the GDR has come from recent agricultural exports to this country (150 million Marks worth) since the high EEC prices are paid for these without any deduction.

These are far greater than average world prices. But in other products the GDR is making good money since these are not burdened with EEC import duties. They fetched 140 million Marks more.

Finally in converting to the system of value added tax the Federal Republic made such great concessions that fiscally inter-German trade is far more advantageous for East Berlin than was the case under the old system of turnover tax. They are 110 million Marks better off in the GDR as a result of this.

Walter Ulbricht's State gains many other benefits from its present trade with the

Federal Republic. Although these advantages are not of the kind that can be worked out in Marks and Pfennigs they are nevertheless of considerable value to the other part of Germany with its constant difficulties in trading freely.

The GDR is envied by all its Eastern Bloc partners for being able to obtain from the EEC via the Federal Republic every possible kind of vital product, raw materials, intermediary products and machinery.

What is more the GDR gets all these at reasonable prices since it, too, has profited from revaluation of the Mark.

In addition to this the Federal Republic buys large quantities of goods from its eastern neighbour which would scarcely sell in other Western countries even if their prices were drastically cut.

The last straw for other EEC countries is that many of the things the Federal Republic buys from the GDR, food and textiles, which make up over half our purchases from the GDR, are items that are readily available and on constant offer all over the world.

East Berlin is going to find it difficult to discover another country in the West that is as good a customer as the Federal Republic.

Hapag-Lloyd merge without losing identity

Defining the details is the greatest bugbear in mergers. But the question of what form the new shipping company will take has already been solved.

The Hapag-Lloyd company being formed, which will have more than 114 freighters at its disposal will trade under the Lloyd flag, which shows the keys of the City of Bremen.

Ship funnels will be in the traditional livery of Hapag — black, white, red. Only the two passenger liners *Bremen* and *Europa* will retain Lloyds' yellow funnel.

On 22 March the two companies signed an agreement designed to bring them all the benefits of a merger without sacrificing the individuality of each.

Two years ago Richard Bertram, Chairman of Lloyd's Board of Directors, repeated that rumours of a complete merger of Lloyd's and Hapag were way off the beam.

He said at the time: "Both companies are striving towards closer cooperation, but if anyone here is thinking in terms of a merger it has never been mentioned."

We need not go further into the circumstances in which Richard Bertram said this in 1968. However, it is certain that he is in favour of that merger that

seems to be complete now that the advisory boards of both companies have given it their blessing. Future steps are just formalities.

Today mergers are nothing exceptional, and they are largely a matter of expediency with regard to market trends.

This is only true in the case of the shipping company merger with reservations. Hapag (Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt-Aktien-Gesellschaft) was founded 123 years ago. Ten years later in Bremen Norddeutsche Lloyd came into being.

Since then there have been repeated efforts from members of the two companies to work in close cooperation.

In 1892 Hapag and Lloyd signed a contract to pool their resources on the North Atlantic passenger line. In the following years negotiations for further cooperative work repeatedly broke down.

It took the world depression to bring the two together finally. The Hapag-Lloyd Union was headed by a joint committee. The annual balance sheets were drawn up on a joint basis and net profits were shared equally.

A few years later a cloud hung over the allied companies and until they were handed back to private ownership in 1941 they were State-run.

After the second world war both companies had lost their entire fleet and they had to start afresh. It was not until 1950 that they were able to resume playing again and then it was regarded as a matter of course that they should resume the old alliance.

Since then Hapag and Lloyd have been growing closer together, although to an outside this is far from evident.

Small-scale company pooling of effort has been a feature of the shipping lines for some time. This became particularly clear when the container-ship system began.

Credit of approximately 1,000 million Marks has been involved in our dealings with the GDR. And voluntarily we have paid an adjustment sum of 120 million Marks for deliveries of oil from the other part of Germany.

All this is in the balance and many other factors too if it comes to recognition in international law and the two Germanys are henceforth considered foreign to each other.

Certainly this country benefits from trade with the German Democratic Republic. But it is fair to say that we do not benefit in an equal measure. Our Eastern neighbour stands to lose more.

If need be we can do without the two per cent that trade with the GDR adds to our total trade turnover. But the GDR cannot do without it!

Ulbricht's attempts to free the GDR economy from the ties that bound it a few years since failed pitifully as is proved by the latest developments in trading between the two parts of Germany, many.

The German Democratic Republic needs to draw on Western technology if it is to hold and further the high position it has gained among the industrial nations of the world.

These are all grim truths that the GDR leaders should not ignore when they are involved in negotiations with the top men from Bonn.

East Berlin may well be overplaying its hand when it makes severe demands at these negotiations. Our answer to their demands must be precise and clear demands of our own.

Hans Roepers (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 April 1970)

Firms such as Deutscher Container-Dienst, Hapag-Lloyd Frachtkontor and Hapag-Lloyd Container Lines are typical examples of this virtually automatic process of growing closer together.

Even such a vital piece of apparatus as the electronic data processor has been in communal use for a long time.

The question arises, what is the point of a company merger? Why should these two companies "merry" when they have been "living together" happily and successfully for so long?

The companies' largest shareholders consider the merger on the logical finishing touch to a set-up that has been developing and maturing over a number of years.

Hapag's major shareholder is the Deutsche Bank which holds eighty per cent of the company's shares. Lloyd's chief backers are the Dresdner Bank and the Veritas Vermögensgesellschaft.

Not only do they consider the merger the logical outcome of long-term company cooperation. But they also regard it as proof that the companies realise that structural changes in the shipping industry which are not yet quite complete call for high investments.

But these investments can only be worthwhile if there is a united front and two complete fleets can be utilised flexibly and rationally.

Added to this the merger will lead to greater rationalisation in company management.

When the joint companies now merged into one receive building orders they will again find the advantage of their "marriage". Mass production of successful ship designs will be easier.

Chief credit for the new move must go to Karl Klusen, who saw the advantages of the merger in good time. He will shortly give up his position as Chairman of the Hapag Advisory Board and concentrate on his position as President of the Bundesbank.

The merged Hapag-Lloyd Aktiengesellschaft will be strong enough to compete with the best from abroad.

Ernst-Günther Eck (DIE WELT, 10 April 1970)

